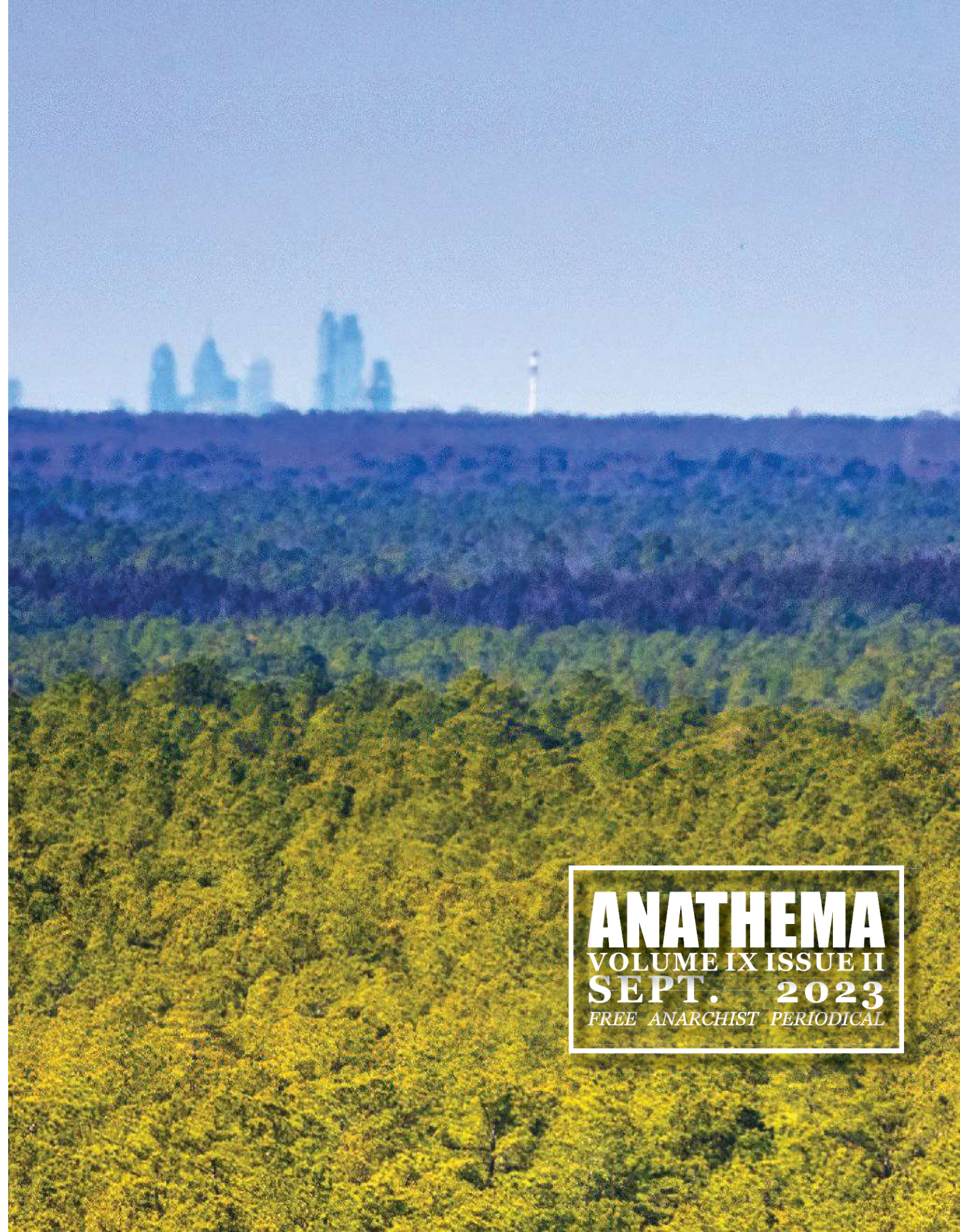


**PHILADELPHIA**  
ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS



Sept 17, 11am Sharp (Register by 9/3)  
(Yoga warm-up at 10am)  
[phillyabc.org/rdtw](http://phillyabc.org/rdtw)

**ANATHEMA**  
VOLUME IX ISSUE II  
SEPT. 2023  
FREE ANARCHIST PERIODICAL



## WHAT WENT DOWN

Early March - A mural memorializing 9/11 first responders was vandalized in West Philly. The faces of a firefighter and police officer were spray painted.

Mid-March - "Tortuguita Revenge Gang" claim responsibility for sabotaging machinery at Bartram's North in solidarity with forest defenders in Atlanta and in memory of Tortuguita. "Disgusted, we returned with bleach, poured it into the tanks of a machine, stole a box of tools, and vanished into the night."

March 23 - The first city-wide Solidarity Economy Assembly takes place at Making Worlds Books.

Late March - Anarchist graffiti spotted around South West Philly.

Late March - Food Not Bombs posters are wheatpasted around West Philly.

Late March - Fascist and snitch Paul Minton's car is attacked in solidarity with Alfredo Cospito. "We took a stroll in South Philly and went apeshit on Paulie's car."

March 26 - Over 8,000 gallons of various acrylates spilled into Otter Creek which flows into the Delaware river, a water emergency was declared for most of the city of Philadelphia for the following days.

March 27 - Philly ABC hosted a letter writing night for Urooj Rahman, a prisoners from the George Floyd uprising.

March 29 - A deputy landlord-tenant officer shoots a woman in the head while evicting her.

March 30 - The Autonomous South Philly Cinema Association hosted a screening of Riotsville, USA to raise money for forest defenders in Atlanta.

April 2 - Three police cars are damaged by attendees of car meetups in Spring Garden and Fishtown.

April 8 - A handful of pro-lifers faced a 20 person pro-choice counter-demonstration outside of a clinic in Chinatown.

April 11 - Supporters hold a letter writing night for Atlanta forest Defenders.

Early April - Graffiti against cellicon valley and pro-cruising graffiti is written around Bartrams. "Let's make the space more fun and cute while we defend the land."

April 15 - The Autonomous South Philly Cinema Association hosted a screening of *How To Blow Up A Pipeline*.

April 23 - In memory of Tortuguita and in celebration of their birthday goods are stolen from various stores. "They

are with us in every action."

May Day - "May Day graffiti was done on a settler colonial monument on Lenape Land."

Early May - Paul Minton of 1542 S. 26th St is doxxed by One People's Project.

May 7 - Two people escape from Philadelphia Industrial Correctional Center.

May 12 - Anti-fascists protested against the Marriott hotel's plan to host the neo-fascist group Moms For Liberty's conference in late June and early July.

Mid-May - Neo-Nazi Paul Minton's neighborhood is flyered with posters exposing him as a fascist organizer and pedophile. The communique calls on "people to take a few nights of action and spam [flyers] everywhere you can. Make him famous. Make it so he can't hide."

May 20 - Philly ABC and Malcolm X Grassroots host a digital letter writing event for Edward Poindexter.

May 23 - Philly Antifa doxx Neo-Nazi Mathew David Blair of Spring Grove, PA. Blair is the leader of First Capital Proud Boys and a member of Southern Sons Active Club.

May - A "work party" at Bartram's destroys fencing and writes graffiti. "More anarchy More destruction Fuck the Gentry"

June 1 - An earth destroying machine is sabotaged in Bartram's by *some feral gnomes*. "We will oppose every destroyer, every tool of power and development that seeks to capture, kill, torture, and displace all our lives."

June 4 - During Philly Pride an affinity group vandalized police cars, redistributed goods from stores, fought homophobes, and burned American flags. "Fuck Assimilation! Liberation Now! Bash Back!"

June 5 - Benjamin F. Ryder, a neo-nazi and sexual predator, is doxxed by Philly Antifa after making an appearance at Wooden Shoe Books.

June 11 - A fundraiser bike ride and movie screening raises \$200 for anarchist prisoners and a local anarchist. "Empty the Prisons and Burn Them!"

June - Graffiti is written in solidarity with Atlanta forest defenders. "AVENGE ATL FOREST (A)"

June - A dog park at Chester and 48th is autonomously re-opened by anarchists. "Reclaim the park!"

June - Fascist graffiti in Germantown is dissed with anarchist graffiti in honor of Tortuguita and solidarity with the struggle against Cop City. "No safe space for fascists in Philly"

## WHO IS PAUL MINTON?

In Philadelphia's anti-fascist space there's been a lot of talk about Paul Minton lately. Who is he and why is he such a hated figure?

Paul Minton (aka MISK, Paulie) is an ex-fascist skinhead, turned snitch, turned anti-fascist activist, turned Neo-Nazi organizer and pedophile. If that sounds like a wild history it's because it is, Minton is known to switch sides and betray those around him. This behavior has made him an especially vile figure amongst anti-fascists.

Minton first caught anti-fascists' attention in 2000 when he made the news by turning on his fellow Neo-Nazi after helping him dispose of a body, snitching on his friend to the police. Despite snitching he remained involved with fascists in Philadelphia, harassing LGBTQ and punk events. In 2005 Minton flipped, he offered up information on his fellow fascists and made a public disavowal of white nationalism.

Years later in 2016 Minton reappeared, making friends with younger anti-fascists in the wake of Trump's election and an upsurge in anti-fascist organizing nationwide. His stint as an anti-fascist didn't go very well, his comrades criticized him for his predatory and erratic behavior. Concerns were raised within his circle that he was grooming a teenage girl. These behaviors led to his exclusion from anti-fascist organizing efforts. Minton was visited by the FBI during this time, rather than simply shutting up, he talked to the agents, trying to get them to go after fascists. This can be considered naive at best.

In 2021 Paul Minton's posts on social media led anti-fascists to suspect that he had returned to the white nationalist movement. Around the same time, a twitter account was created that made attempts to dox anti-fascists in Philly, the information came from an inside perspective but was outdated, it's generally assumed that Minton ran this account. At the time of this writing Paul Minton has fully come out as a Neo-Nazi, he has covered up his anti-fascist tattoos, he organizes with White Lives Matter and PA Active Club, and he sports new fascist clothing and tattoos. He is currently living with the young woman who he groomed when she was a minor, he has radicalized

her to white nationalism, and she is pregnant with his baby.

Cars:  
Grey Chevy Tahoe MBT-1212  
Black KIA Soul LZN-5585

More information about Paul Minton can be found on Philly Antifa's website [phillyantifa.org](http://phillyantifa.org) and One People's Project's Rogue Gallery [rogues.wiki](http://rogues.wiki). ★



## ANNOUNCING UNRAVEL

[Unravel.noblogs.org](http://Unravel.noblogs.org) is a counter-information project with an insurrectional perspective that aims to connect acts of negation and attack in the so-called USA. Those in power want our acts to remain disparate and disconnected, the spark that drives each of us shielded from the other's view. By weaving together the threads of action, this project hopes to draw throughlines in the struggles that anarchists engage in, in order to broaden and amplify shared projectualities.

Domination and authority cross us in a tangled and knotted web of ever more interconnected systems; unraveling this network at one point has the potential to create a cascade that throws everything into disarray, opening spaces for freedom. This website is explicitly anarchist, and accepts/reposts communiques, reportbacks, analysis, calls to action, events, and mass media articles about unclaimed acts of vandalism, sabotage, arson, or destruction.



The previous paragraphs take a nuanced look at Kaczynski's ideology and counter the idea that he is an ecofascist, not argue that Kaczynski is some ideological figurehead. That one point of nuance, one can be influential and not be a hero. However, not being an ecofascist is a low bar. Kaczynski was, as the title of this piece suggests, a weird little dude. He was an angry, sexually frustrated cis man that might be characterized as an incel today. He describes having an "excruciating difficulty" making advances with women. He also harassed a woman coworker of his after a breakup, posting sexual innuendo-filled limericks about her on the factory bulletin board they both worked at. He was subsequently fired for this. He displayed misogynist behavior and his isolation likely made this misogyny weirder. Ted has often been characterized as racist, homophobic, and transphobic. This likely comes from his critique of leftism and the incredibly clunky and lacking ways that he discusses race, sexuality, and gender in the manifesto and elsewhere. Again, his isolation from society is likely a contributing factor to how poorly he addresses these issues. However, in his piece *Technological Slavery*, he says:

"...nor would I want to see anybody scorned or rejected because they are intersexed or because of their race, religion, sexual orientation, etc., etc., etc."

This piece tries to engage with Ted Kaczynski's legacy and ideology with nuance, not advocacy or dismissal. He was important for mainstreaming anti-technology critiques, as well as praxis, even 30 years after his arrest. He was also a weird, isolated incel and displayed misogynist behaviors. He spoke about race in insensitive and clunky ways. He was a self-identifying anarchist and explicit (yet not most forceful) critic of ecofascism, racism, ethnocentrism, and other oppressive forms. The Unabomber was an anarchist in conversation with anarchists, it is important to address this with diagnostic nuance to understand where anti-tech/anti-civ critiques can diverge in a fashion more relevant to contemporary struggles engaging in deconstructing inherent ideological foundations rooted in western civilization. It is lazy and dishonest to wholeheartedly denounce the Unabomber as an ecofascist, it covers from ideological uncomfotability in favor of ease. There are nuanced critiques one can and should make of him, some of his ideas can be wrong and out

of touch with how a contemporary anarchism has grown, while recognizing the influence of his anti-technology critiques and actions on contemporary anarchism. One can find the same critiques in Jaques Ellul, Thomas Kuhn, Lewis Mumford, and Paul Feyerabend's work. They can find it in contemporary insurrectionary and nihilist critiques that (sometimes) do a better job addressing race, gender, and sexuality (CLODO, Baedan, the communiques and writings of the CCF, FAI, Freddy Perlman, solidarity actions with Stop Cop City, ELF, ALF, etc). They can find it in black and indigenous anti-civ and decolonial critiques and activity (Samuel B., Salish Seas Black Autonomists, Michael Kimble, Russel Maroon Shoatz, Franz Fanon, *Black Seed*, Aragorn!, Mapuche resistance in Chile and Argentina (some of which is compiled in the recent release from Ungrateful Heyenas Editions: *Between Oceans, Forests, and Volcanoes*), Chilean and Mexican CCF-FAI cells, etc). Ted Kaczynski has inspired much anti-tech radical and anarchistic theory and attacks, but others have done so in more interesting ways and communicated those ideas more effectively. Kaczynski may have demonstrated some limits on hermeticism and individual attack. Perhaps engaging in war against civilization and society in manners more similar to Mapuche resistance, the East Asia Anti-Japan Armed Front, Black Liberation Army, or CCF-FAI — woven into a fabric of life, interfacing with an above ground of support is a more effective way of insurgency. Who knows, no one has figured this out yet. Regardless, empty and destroy prisons.



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June 29 - The Museum of the American Revolution is tagged and has its window broken. The Museum agreed to host Moms For Liberty, a transphobic and racist group holding a conference that same weekend. "Collaborators will be held accountable."

June 29 - A group of around 20 people marched through Olde City against the Moms For Liberty conference taking place. They wrote graffiti, put up stickers and posters, and gave out fliers. "Long live mob vandalism!"

July - Graffiti is written to welcome Moms For Liberty. "SMASH FASCISM (A)"

July 5 - Mark A. Kauffman and Sara Sheaffer, leaders of neo-nazi group S14/Storm Division, are doxxed.

July 21 - Mathew D Bair is doxxed for the second time, this time exposing his membership to the S14 neo-nazi group.

August 10 - A call to struggle against the proposed development of Bartrams into a bio-technology campus is posted online.

August 14 - A Philadelphia Parking Authority employee is shot in the face and back with a BB gun in a Center City drive-by. ★

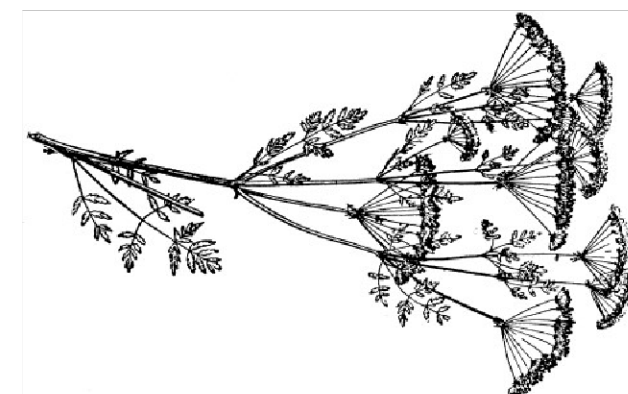
**there's two kinds of anarchists in philadelphia:**



**SUBMISSIONS**

We accept submissions of material by, for and relevant to anarchists, from the so-called Philadelphia region and beyond. We are most interested in works that say what only anarchists can say, making our project unique from the Left and even other anarchist projects. No more than 2,000 words please.

[anathema.noblogs.org](http://anathema.noblogs.org) ★ [anathemaphl@riseup.net](mailto:anathemaphl@riseup.net)



**IN THE NEXT ISSUE...**

- WE SHOULD ALL SHOULD STOP HAVING SEX WITH EACH OTHER
- HOW CLIMATE CHANGE RUINED MY RAVE
- WEST PHILLY'S "GO WEST" CRAFT FAIR: A BRUTAL REVIEW FROM AN INSURRECTIONALIST PERSPECTIVE
- PUNCTUALITY: AN UNDEREXPLORED ANARCHIST VALUE? ★

## CONSERVATION AS ABOLITION

We here at *Anathema* recently received a surprising pair of emails from media@womensdeclarationusa.com on the subject of gender abolition. At first glance this might seem up our alley (though some of our most astute readers may correctly guess we're more interested in gender destruction than abolition). The authors of the emails let us know about a then-upcoming event featuring radical feminist Lierre Keith and lifelong Democrat Kara Dansky, JD (nerdy anarchists and nerdy queers might recognize Lierre and Kara's names respectively) discussing the contagion that is transgender rights. We're not sure how or why these people decided to send us an email but needless to say, this is fully NOT our cup of tea.

Womanhood, girlhood, and essentialist discourse around gender are being challenged in this moment. Across the country trans-exclusionary radical feminists (TERFs), conservatives, the far-right, and a ton of Karens are pushing to pin down, solidify, and maintain what it means to be a woman. Others are pushing to dramatically expand what womanhood is, sometimes to the point of exploding the category entirely (this editor finds that path most interesting).

Those clinging to an essentialist notion of womanhood continue to link womanhood with sex. Their understanding of gender abolition is to somehow divorce sex and gender and rely strictly on sex to determine how we socialize. If you're scratching your head at this, don't worry we are too. Their understanding is an essentialist one, it requires drawing solid lines between who is a man and woman, using sex assigned at birth to categorize and reduce individuals (if this sounds a lot like gender, that's because it is). Unsurprisingly it lines right up with patriarchal ideas, females are vulnerable to males and must be institutionally protected from predatory males by a male dominated state or institution (which certainly wouldn't include other predatory males). TERFs and other conservatives actually equate gender with sex, often explaining that to them a woman is an "adult human female," the abolition of gender is a simplification of terms for them, coded in pseudo-scientific language. Abolition in this sense means limiting the playing field, flattening all discussion of gender into the sex categories of male and female.

On the other hand there is the menace of the "transgender agenda." This nebulous team includes everyone from those interested in anti-discrimination law for trans people to those fighting for the destruction of gendered society. What all of us have in common is that our narratives around womanhood have more space for gender self-determination. From the annoying "real transsexuals" who use gender dysphoria as a medically valid reason to consider someone assigned male at birth a woman, to the people accepting as woman all who calls themselves such, to the theorists who point out the womanhood in everyone, all these people have an interest in expanding womanhood to include more people. More interesting to this author is understanding womanhood and gender as the constructs that they are, playing with them until they break, then discarding them (but that's a topic for another time).

On an emotional level there is a certain loss that can come from the destruction of gender and sex. Womanhood as a stable and fixed category is emotionally useful and convenient. It brings meaning and substance to someone's sense of being, in a social and cultural context. Being a woman or a girl offers a pre-fabricated framework for understanding oneself and how to relate to others. If more people are considered women, if being a woman becomes less important, if womanhood is defined locally on a small-scale, it can feel less special, less existentially meaningful, one may feel more lost and the responsibility to self-create one's life creeps further front and center. Without a set of centrally organized womanhoods one has to find and create meaning for themselves and those around them without the backing of patriarchal social institutions. This self-creation and co-creation outside and against gender asks so much of us, especially considering that from birth we are taught to rely and lean on gender institutions. How much easier it is to go with the flow, for those who are able to do so smoothly. That's the other thing, not everyone has had easy access to the womanhoods on offer by gender conservationists, many cis women have a tumultuous relationship with their gender, whether internally or in terms of being seen good enough women by others. Black feminists, queer feminists, and others have challenged and re-challenged what womanhood is, pulling at it to make it more spacious for more women.

*has been applied to a variety of attitudes, further explanation is needed. We call ourselves anarchists because we would like, ideally, to break down all society into very small, completely autonomous units...Our more immediate goal...is the destruction of the worldwide industrial system. Through our bombings we hope to promote social instability in industrial society, propagate anti-industrial ideas and give encouragement to those who hate the industrial system."*

Reasonably, one could take FC's stated goals and ideology as it is claimed, and interpret the claim of apoliticism through the lens of contemporary anti-political anarchism, given the contradictory claims of "apolitical" and "anarchist." Thus it could be understood at the very least that FC sees themselves as anti-political anarchist terrorists. From these statements, it seems unlikely that Kaczynski identified with a fascist politic or ideology. In letters from prison, entitled *Ecofascism: An Aberrant Branch of Leftism*, Ted comments on ecofascists. He outlines 2 criteria for ecofascists, as he understands them.

*I. They do not advocate total rejection of modern technology; instead, they want to create a society in which technology will be "limited and "wisely" used in such a way as to ensure the ecological health of our planet.*

*II. They support, if not white supremacism, then at least white separatism.*

In criteria one, he establishes that they do not want what he wants, as total rejection of modern technology. He further goes on to say that ecofascists want a planned society, which is in line with socialist ideology, i.e. leftism. He goes on to say "The true anti-tech movement," which Ted advocates for, "rejects every form of racism or ethnocentrism." This is a clear disavowal. He further goes on to compare leftist misappropriations of his work in the 90's and 2000's to ecofascist misappropriations today, saying.

The ecofascist claim is often paired with his inspiring of *Individualists Tending Towards the Wild* (ITS), a group claiming their ideology as eco-extremist who were active in Mexico from ~2011-2019 (or maybe still). In a supposed interview with ITS they state;

*"Our immediate objectives are very clear: injure or kill scientists and researchers (by the means of whatever violent act) who ensure the Technoindustrial System continues its course. As we have declared on various occasions, our concrete objective is not the destruction of the Technoindustrial system, it is the attack with all the necessary resources, lashing out at this system which threatens to close off all paths to the reaching of our Individual Freedom, putting into practice our defensive instinct."*

In a later iteration, *Wild Reaction*, they claim;

*"We in RS are in an individualist war, planned, unbound, and executed by us against a variety of targets that are at the same time real and/or represent modernity, technology, civilization, artificiality, progressivism, and humanism..."*

*"RS will take the initiative of attacking human targets as it was with ITS, but we will also charge against public and private property...And if for that reason, during an attack, some citizen is wounded or killed, we won't care, we will be indifferent and indiscriminating."*

ITS falsely claimed several murders as "indiscriminate attacks."

In 2017, a letter entitled ITS, or the rhetoric of decay and signed by former members of *Anonymous Action Anarchist*, *CCF [Mexico]*, *Insurrectional Cell Mariano Sánchez Añón*, *Anarchic Individualities*, and *lobxs solitarixs* reexamines a former statement of solidarity with ITS. They go on to scathingly critique ITS;

*"ITS have assumed a convulsive authoritarianism that, beyond its congenital mythomania and its ridiculous and unintelligible communiqués assuming responsibility for murders and feminicides of others, reveals their proto-fascist decadence."*

Ted also writes a disavowal of ITS in the letter *Ted Kaczynski on Individualists Tending Toward Savagery (ITS)*, he ends it saying;

*"...some of the data on which ITS are based are erroneous and that ITS attributes to me affirmations that I have never made and opinions that I have never defended."*

In 1996, Ted sent a manifesto to major newspaper outlets entitled *Industrial Society and Its Future*, beginning with the now famous line;

*“The Industrial Revolution and its consequences have been a disaster for the human race.”*

The piece was signed *Freedom Club*, which had previously claimed bombings, many of which bore the letters “FC” somewhere on the devices.

The manifesto draws from several influences. The principle being christian anarchist Jaques Ellul’s *The Technological Society*, in which Ellul analyzes the role of “technique” in maximizing societies rational efficiency. He argues that technique in and of itself has become an autonomous societal force towards an ever more perfect efficiency. Ellul argues that humans are maladapted to live in industrial society, thus techniques are developed to adapt them to it. TK also draws upon the critique of leftism and activism expressed by Ellul:

*“...social and intellectual movements of the 20th century...have been successful in pulling the teeth of aggressive instincts and in integrating them into the technical society.”*

Other influences include Zoologist Desmond Morris’s *The Human Zoo*, which Kaczynski derives his ideas of “surrogate activity” and the “power process.” As well as Martin Seligman’s *Helplessness: On Depression, Development, and Death* for his concept of “learned helplessness.”

***“It is lazy and dishonest to wholeheartedly denounce the Unabomber as an ecofascist, it cowers from ideological uncomfortability in favor of ease.”***

The FBI encourage media outlets to publish the manifesto, on the off chance someone would recognize the writing style or ideas. In fact, someone did. David Kaczynski snitched on his brother to the FBI and on April 3, 1996, Ted’s Montana cabin was raided and he was arrested. He was tried and sentenced to 3 lifetime sentences, much of his incarceration spent at the supermax facility FDC Florence, until

he was transferred to the federal prisoner medical center in NC when he was diagnosed with terminal cancer. It was here that he hung himself at 81. The FBI ultimately spent \$50 million searching for him, according to a 2000 report.

As one might assume about a serial bomber of 2 decades, Ted is a controversial figure. This piece will focus on him in an anarchist context though. There are many anarchists that make the claim without nuance that Ted was an ecofascist and disavow his influence on anarchism. This is likely due to an ignorance of the ideas communicated by the Freedom Club. The stated aim of FC from a 1985 letter to the San Francisco Examiner was “...the complete and permanent destruction of modern industrial society in every part of the world.” *Freedom Club* establishes an anti-leftism in the same letter;

*“The Freedom Club is strictly anti-communist, anti-socialist, anti-leftist. One reason for this is that the left has a consistent record of unintentionally (when not intentionally) subverting rebel movements of any kind and turning them into leftist movements... Therefore the Freedom Club must completely disassociate itself from any form of leftism. This does not imply that we are in any sense a right-wing movement. We are apolitical. Politics only distracts attention from the real issue.”*

To end this letter, FC claims that they have not taken to terror lightly;

*“Don’t think that we are sadists or thrill-seekers or that we have adopted terrorism lightly... We have become terrorists only after the most earnest consideration.”*

It is likely the “apolitical” referenced above is more akin to an anti-politics of contemporary anarchist theory. There is evidence for this in the explicit claim of anarchism in the beginning to A letter to *Live Wild or Die*;

*“This is a message from FC Anarchist Terror Group.”*

In a letter to Warren Hoge of the New York Times, FC further affirms their anarchism and clarifies it;

*“In our previous letter to you we called ourselves anarchists. Since “anarchist” is a vague word that*

At the end of the day this circling of the wagons by gender conservationists is an attempt to tighten social control. Like other oppressions it limits everyone, directly or indirectly putting obstacles in all our paths. As anarchists we can find freedom in challenging gender and its conservationists, their narratives, and the social control they exert over us. In light of that any interested readers on the west coast might be interested to know that the Gender Abolition Tour 2023 is coming to San Francisco September 18th and to Portland November 19th. Readers can contact Melinda Hughes at 360-630-7458 or email [info@womensdeclarationusa.com](mailto:info@womensdeclarationusa.com) or the email at the beginning of this article to learn more about the tour. Additionally the same group responsible for the tour is holding a radical feminist conference at the Hilton San Francisco Financial District from September 15-17. ★

## DANCE PARTIES WON’T STOP FASCISM

*Some Notes and Complaints about Philly’s Mobilization Against Moms For Liberty, Liberalism in the Anarchist Movement and Popular “Anti-Fascism”*

There was a art bloc that tried to do some disruptive stuff on Thursday night before Moms for Liberty. I do think the action was called a bit too early in the day but I appreciated how serious everyone who showed up was. It was also cool how folks weren’t doing the Black bloc thing but still managed to conceal identities. I really think we gotta keep pushing gray bloc or whatever as a tactic cause it does seem less like over the top. I think there’s often trepidation with some anarchists to act without full bloc on but yeah let’s only use Black bloc when appropriate. The wheat pasting and graffiti and use of bikes was cool. I wish there were more people although since it wasn’t called publicly that was probably part of why. The whole helicopter flying over us was definitely a bit weird. I’m glad we decided to disperse. I do wonder if the leftist organizers would’ve gotten mad at us if we hadn’t lmao. Some of the homies who pulled up thought the action was gonna be more intense so I suppose that was a bit confusing for them but either way, it all worked out at least to me. I think for a lot of younger anarchists, it is hard to grasp that a lot of time actions are just trying a tactic out and sometimes it’s cool but most of the time you end up

leaving feeling kinda meh. Despite this, it was a good thing that we could learn from. I liked how diverse the crew of folks was. Diversity within our ranks makes it easier to dispel liberal peace police when they play weird identity politics games. I also liked the gray bloc. One of the homies said the whole thing felt really tense which I definitely felt. It would’ve been cool if we had some chants or a sound system. The small numbers just seemed to stress everyone out especially with a lot of cops being there. As much as I wish Thursday and the whole weekend had resulted in full action that led to Moms for Liberty having to shut their conference down, I applaud anarchists for trying to organize autonomously from the liberals. I’ll talk about why this is important in a moment.

So I’ll start with why I really don’t identify with anti-fascism anymore. This is important because the “dance parties” were described as anti-fascist. This is honestly sad but the reality is that most popular anti-fascism is essentially liberalism now. My introduction to anti-fascism was the violent highly publicized street battles that raged between militant antifascists and fascists that began in 2016. While I know there’s a longer history, my introduction to anti-fascism was around this time. For me, anti-fascism has always been about violence towards our enemies and disruption of their organizing (which usually also happens through violence). Maybe the emphasis on violence or conflict or disruption is problematic but that’s honestly how I feel. Moms for Liberty was in Philly recently and honestly I was pretty disappointed with how Philly “radicals” reacted to Moms For Liberty. Their conference went on with zero threats apart from the brave person who attacked the Museum for American Revolution the day before.

Kim Kelly, a well known “anarchist” journalist published a pretty corny piece on *The Nation* about the protest. I wasn’t out and about all of the days cause I gotta better things to do than yell at buildings so I’m only gonna speak to my experience. But I don’t think being an anarchist and celebrating how ACT-Up organizers pushed for “peace” in your article is a good thing. Kim Kelly in her article in the Nation celebrates how ACT-Up insisted that people remain peaceful and calmed everyone down whenever things started to “heat up.” How is this person an anarchist or a representative of our movement? The ACT-Up and YCL people are not our fucking allies.

Anarchist journalists or whatever should not be celebrating them as a part of “Philly resistance.” If Philly resistance is a bunch of people just dancing in front of a building, I think that’s pretty bad resistance not worth celebrating.

Another reason that Kim’s article annoyed me because it points to a broader tendency in anarchism. The comrades in the now defunct Revolutionary Abolitionist Movement often talked about themselves as combating the liberal tendencies within anarchism. I see Kim Kelly and most other anarchist public intellectuals as a part of this liberal tendency. These folks essentially write anarchist stuff with an orientation towards liberals or progressives or non-anarchist leftists. This is pretty dangerous for a number of reasons. I’ve noticed over the last few years that anarchism has become common in the vocabulary of many non-profit type abolitionists. This can be attributed to many folks in our movement who push for anarchism to become popularized to a wider audience. To be clear, I’m not anti-organization or against expanding our numbers as anarchists. I think the sub-cultural model is deeply flawed. However, I think that the rise of anarchists such as Kim Kelly, the folks at IGD, and the broader “dual power” or “mass movement” tendency dilutes the revolutionary politics inherent to anarchism. While I don’t think these folks are intentionally working to undermine our political project, their desire is to “simplify” anarchism.

***“We are anarchists. We are trying to defeat our enemies. Sometimes that means building broader coalitions but if we build broad coalitions at the expense of our politics & militancy then it’s a waste of time.”***

I don’t think that anarchists being marginal to mass struggles at least within the last 15 years is a good thing. Our participation strengthens those movements as well as the movement for anarchy. But the problem with anarchists such as Kelly is that they dilute anarchist values into something that is easily accessible for the non-profit industrial complex and Leftistactivismsubcultures. Our participation in these

moments has to add a subversive edge. Anarchism is valuable due to our commitment to a political ethic that is not beholden to liberalism but Kim Kelly and IGD and others sacrifice values and critique for the good of the “broader” movement. This is why Kim Kelly celebrated “philly resistance” in a broad sense when any anarchist militant with a determined analysis could understand what happened over that weekend as a defeat for us politically as the conference went on undisturbed largely due to the inability or lack of desire from “radical organizers” to engage in tactics beyond dancing outside of the hotel. It’s similar to how IGD promotes protests that are not militant at all in character on their page as if those things are “anarchist.” While I don’t think that every time anarchists do something that it needs to be a riot, I do think we must emphasize conflictuality with our enemies. Philly anarchists do this in various ways through the variety of attacks they’ve engaged in over the years in addition to the countless hours that comrades have put in supporting prisoners.

Anarchists in Philly remain hostile to working with groups like YCL and ACT-Up for understandable reason. Our goal should not be to work with these groups but rather to outmaneuver them and if they get in our way to smash them. We are anarchists. We are trying to defeat our enemies. Sometimes that means building broader coalitions but if we build broad coalitions at the expense of our politics and militancy then it’s a waste of time.

It seems like anti-fascism is just another way for people to feel good about themselves at this point. The anti-fascism on display over that weekend was a far cry from the militant street violence that I understand anti-fascism to be. People will probably critique this essay and say “oh what about a diversity of tactics.” and the reality is that I don’t give a fuck about a diversity of tactics to be very honest. I want us to be in conflict with our enemies. A lot of “diversity of tactics” rhetoric is used to push pacifism and non-violent and self congratulatory politics. That’s not resistance. The police and fascists are not threatened by you dancing. If I wanted to dance, I’d just go to a club or a rave. Especially in this heat, I’m not tryna be outside. What’s the point in dancing outside of a conference of people that want to exterminate queer people? There isn’t one. It’s honestly a pathetic set of politics. Or as one of my comrades says “weak.” Finally, the George Floyd rebellion illustrated to us that there are large segments of the United States

after them before they can get to us.

It’s in this moment I’m reminded that any attack on power wielded over us can be justified as self-defense, but I’m simultaneously repulsed at the idea of justifying myself. Moreover, if we are to band together across neighborhoods, towns, and bioregions, I would like to focus on liberating ourselves beyond the reach of the crooked oligarchs and their minions – rendering their policing moot, only needing to fight as much as needed to keep them at bay. If a community is not interested in that, or at least in increasing our threat – nay, material damage – to every governance, then I don’t believe I want a part in it.

In that way, my most ideal version of participatory defense sees our overlapping projects actively fighting in unique collaborations, mishmashing our skillsets into a destructive force that seeks to defend what we’ve liberated – resulting somewhere down the line in growing autonomous zones, in which we live lives of our choosing, while remaining a real threat to any seeking to enter these spaces to bridle us. You might call this anarchy. Maybe this is something my peers agree with in theory, too, but far less often in practice. I guess I can’t honestly say that any of us are really trying to put this into practice at this very moment, but I believe it deserves to be said. I want my intentions to be clear so that I might better find accomplices.

There remains pesky posturing in community defense scenes (that will not be adequately addressed here), fraught with rifle-wielding militants that seem intent on militarizing our fight rather than decentralizing it. That is not to say that weapons have no place in our actions, only that we should consider how we advertise our armaments, cement our roles, and thereby confine our expressions.

There also remains future questions about how we might live in proximity to people who choose to live differently (i.e. hierarchically), should we succeed in such a project, and not imposing our liberation as a new governance, even when their path resembles that of our former oppressors’. Maybe that is answered through realizing an increasingly indigenized landscape as a decolonial project. Maybe that complicates things further in some spaces, but we should not fear complicated questions – really

that is a fear of answers we might not yet foresee.

In beginning this examination of community defense I’m left wondering how often we are just reacting to provocations and at what point do we actually focus on our desires? How often, too, are we caught in a granfalloon of meaningless associations, risking a savior complex in the process? Is there a path through this concept toward purposeful action that tears at the social fabric that binds us? Is community defense most apt among territories and minds that are already liberated from profit-driven intentions and manufactured moralities, and can we associate honestly before reaching that point? ★

## RETROSPECTIVE ON THEODORE J. KACZYNSKI

*An Anti-Tech Anarchist And A Weird Little Dude*

Theodore J. Kaczynski (Ted K.) died on June 10, 2023, completing suicide by hanging. Ted, as described by his wikipedia article was an american mathematician and domestic terrorist. Ted did a PhD in mathematics at the University of Michigan, specializing in geometric function theory, a relatively defunct field contemporarily. He took an assistant professorship at UC Berkley, in order to make money to buy remote property in the woods of Montana. He resigned this position in 1969 and moved to Lincoln, Montana by 1971. Kaczynski’s desire in moving to Montana had been to live a self-sufficient, autonomous life outside of industrial civilization. He had been developing an anti-technology philosophy since his undergrad at Harvard. His retreat to the forest was one in desire of a peaceful coexistence with wild nature, which was continually encroached upon by construction, logging, and air travel. He began committing ecologically minded sabotages in 1975. He booby-trapped motorcycle trails, committed arsons against logging equipment, sabotaged mining equipment, and destroyed vacation homes, to name a few acts. In 1978, he sent his first mail bomb to Buckley Crist, a materials engineering professor at Northwestern University in Chicago, IL. He would go on to send 16 mail bombs to university professors of science and technology as well as techno-industry executives and workers. Initially, dubbed the “UnAbomb” case by the FBI, as a portmanteau of university and airline bomber.

threatened for acting outside of some non-specific/unnamed community's wishes?

When someone refers to someone as a member of the community, do you ever ask which one? Do you ask what that has to do with yourself? Do you ask if you were ever asked to be a part of this community or just lumped in?

Sometime in the last several years I got involved in a group that is often referred to as a Community Defense Group. We mostly call it "security" amongst ourselves, because that's what we provide – or at least a sense of it. Born in a time where fascists and ring-wing constitutionalists sought to intimidate black, brown, and queer acquaintances, some friends stepped in to make sure they weren't left to deal with that bullshit on their own.

We've since helped with a handful of different events in this role, even since I've joined, but find there's often some minor misunderstandings between us and our various peers. When I say "peers," I mean the groups we do security on behalf of, but also those that are a part of community defense groups themselves.

Most often we run into the misunderstanding that we don't intend to quell anyone acting out against potential oppressors or their representative facades. You will neither hear us called marshals, nor hear us say "that's not what we're here for." There's been little opportunity for this to be tested anyway, but I do feel lucky to have found a group that has no interest in policing revolt – no interest in policing an individual's expression of revolt, you could also say. Probably the other biggest misunderstanding, though, is that we don't intend to be specialists in this field. If we were not a part of your group before, we hope that you will take from the lessons we have on offer and establish these skill-sets or roles within it.

When discussing our roles, the word community is thrown around an awful lot, without ever being defined. Sometimes I ask questions to get more specifics. Sometimes a couple of us experiment with other terms, like "participatory defense." I like to think this term compels anyone who wants to be defended to think about taking part in this act themselves, in collaboration with others. It is already in use in describing people coming together

to fight criminal charges a loved one is facing, but that is maybe not so hegemonic that this sense of the term can't coexist. The concept stands, I believe, overlapping with the common anarchist notion that we all must participate in our own liberation – because to be liberated by a third party is just to accept their intentions as your own, forfeiting your autonomy.

But what of defense?

Does a good defense make a good offense? When does the threat of attack through bared teeth prevent the need for defense? Is defense the role of a reactionary? Is it oppositionally defiant, waiting to react to a stimulus, rather than plotting our intentions?

Is defense relegated to the realm of legibility, justifying our logic through cold equations like "if x, then y?" Is it the passion of running to the barricades alongside your comrades? Is it the affect of a savior complex?

When is defense useful? When is it not? When is it legally justified? When does that matter? At what point will you feel it important to participate in a defense?

In joining this collective, I found shared affection for the statement, "be careful with each other so that we can be dangerous together" – but there seems little interest in becoming dangerous. Our potential – our capacity – has grown at times, but not universally. Even among those that work at it, our abilities often feel symbolic without application. I'm grateful to have people to be building with, but lament when we're waiting around to see if a particular villain shows up to do us harm when we know where they can be found, perpetuating harm all the while.

There's certainly different categories of harmful oppressors. We sometimes pay more attention to the rank-and-file fascists that have little crossover with us in real life, than those at the helm of the institutions that regularly act to dominate our will through all kinds of measures – whether liberal or conservative. We exist in a time where all those lines are blurring slightly, but I fear we're more concerned with giving an individual a headache rather than overthrowing those entities that keep us chained down. Or in times when there is an active threat from one of those individuals, why we don't come

population willing to fight. It seems strange that radicals and leftists continue to take their tactics from outdated activism rather than looking at self activity of the oppressed masses as the model. While I don't think we could or should try to replicate the riots, it's clear to me that militancy is the answer.

I read a novel a couple of months ago about the rise of fascism in Italy. The novel talks about how the Communist Party basically mostly abandoned militant anti-fascists and anarchists on their own. I see parallels here. While people might have their "anti-fascist" dance parties outside of a hotel, the fascists in Moms for Liberty are continuing to organize. Your dance parties are not dangerous to the enemy. To me, that means you must re-evaluate your set of politics. ACT-Up Philadelphia and YCL and their liberal allies are moving in the same way. Instead of organizing with a militant intent, it downplays and makes it harder for actual resistance to occur.

I don't want to abandon anti-fascism cause I think the militant history is dope but it does feel like if people are acting like dance parties are anti-fascist, there's a problem. I'm not tryna dance my way into a fascist's gun or camp. These people claim to be revolutionaries but get scared as soon as someone starts spray painting or pulls a dumpster into the street. Pretty pathetic revolutionaries in my opinion.

Either way to close, I want to point to the problems that the mobilization against Moms for Liberty highlighted. Firstly, leftist usage of anti-fascism to promote liberal tactics under the guise of "diversity of tactics." Secondly, "anarchist" author Kim Kelly promoting and supporting the liberal tactics through the guise of Philly resistance. And finally, this must be understood in the broader context of how anarchist has been struggling in my view since the Trump years to grapple with liberalism and pacifism infecting our ranks. It is frustrating for me to make these critiques as I do believe that anarchists must interface with the broader social movements but it must not come at the expense of our politics and values.

Some questions for anarchists in Philly and beyond...

1. How do we broaden an anarchist base committed to real militancy?
2. Does that matter strategically?
3. Other than writing critiques, how do we confront

the liberal tendencies plaguing anarchism?

4. What is our orientation toward activist groups? Do we treat them as enemies if they get in our way and peace police?

5. Is anti-fascism worth preserving? ★

## ETERNAL WAR AGAINST GOLF

*Meadow Resilience and Land Defense against the Cobbs Creek Golf Course*

I.

On the western edge of Philly, Cobbs Creek - or Karakung - flows north to south. Karakung means "the place of the wild geese" in the Lenape language. Where Karakung flows together with what settlers have named "Indian creek" is the site of the Cobbs Creek Golf Course. The former golf course sits on 350 acres of green space. There were once marshes bordering much of Karakung before Swedish colonizers drained them to make way for the domestication of animals. The area is a hub connecting multiple green spaces which stretches hundreds of acres across Philly. To the west is Cobbs Creek Park which continues into Darby. To the north is Morris Park and to the south is Haddington Woods and Cobbs Creek. This creates a expansive habitat linking together many diverse forests, wetlands, grasslands and waterways into space which is navigable to animals and people alike. This area is a rare surviving gift of expansive wild space in an urban context.

Settler accounts say that Karakung was a favorite place of the Lenape. It's not hard to imagine why. Standing on the rolling meadow hills only two years post-clearcut, one can see the vibrant ecosystem of Karakung. The grass shimmers in the sun. The slopes are filled with thriving plants Lenape people have used as medicines. Butterflies, sparrows, goldfinches, morning doves, chimney swifts, vultures, hawks, and many more birds soar overhead. The tall grass is streaked with trails made by deer and other creatures.

Perhaps, in a few more years, there will be many more deer foraging and stewarding the meadows. Beaver ponds edged with delicious cattails making homes for ducks and muskrats. Hawks perching in the tall maples, hunting the frogs in the beaver pond.

Owls and foxes hunting the thriving rabbits, mice. People coming to bird watch, fuck in the tall grass, trip, or otherwise escape the squeeze of the city.

Or maybe in a few years the meadow will be cut down, drenched in industrial fertilizer and pesticides running off into the estuary which Karakung flows into. Frequented mainly by wealthy suburbanites zipping around in golf carts. Karakung and its tributaries walled in so its waters can not disturb the greens and causeways. The medicines which are now abundant gone. The birds finding neither food nor shelter. The habitats - now regrowing and developing - will be destroyed.

II.

There is already one other golf course bordering Karakung (McCall Golf Club 201 N Lynn Blvd). However, the Cobbs Creek Foundation still wants to redevelop the Cobbs Creek Golf Course. It is unclear why they think this is a good idea. Despite golf's surge in popularity nationally during the pandemic, the Cobbs Creek Golf Course couldn't sustain or manage itself.

The Cobbs Creek Foundation has already killed many large trees. When the golf course was first scraped into the earth in 1916, the standing trees were not allowed to be cut. But in 2022, while the project was still pending approval, the Cobbs Creek Foundation hired A.M. Logging, LLC (116 Thompson Lane Millheim, PA) and killed many of the trees - some of which are likely more than 200 years old.

One of the first steps, according to building permits, is to wall in the creek to stop it from flooding the green, which the foundation calls "creek restoration," as well as constructing a pump house and irrigation reservoir to supply the course's massive demand for water. Or, as the Cobbs creek foundation would put it, "creating wetlands." Despite the language used by the advocates of the golf course, they have not made a compelling case nor produced any proof that the redevelopment would not increase flooding, erosion, or runoff further downstream. Cobbs Creek flows through many beloved wild spaces, all of which will likely see damaging effects from this golf course - most sensitive being the estuary the creek flows into, John Heinz, which is an important wetland and site for migratory birds.

On top of leasing the multi-million dollar property to the Golf course for only \$1, the city council passed legislation to exempt the Cobbs Creek Foundation from an ordinance designed to limit construction on steep slopes to stave-off erosion. Perhaps the illegal and legal donation the foundation and its members made to city council member Curtis Jones, who introduced the legislation, paid off. Ceisler Media & Issues Advocacy, a PR firm the Foundation hired, has given statements to the media stating that the donations were a "mistake".

III.

As well as transparent greenwashing, Cobbs Creek Foundation has constantly instrumentalized black people to justify destroying what could be important green space, and enclosing public land in a black neighborhood for a paid golf club. The Cobbs Creek Golf Course was one of first to allow black players - a fact which has been paraded around by the foundation. However, the claim that, because of its past, this club will be less racist than other golf clubs, is dubious. Golf has a long history of racism. Golf was the last sport to desegregate, as it did so in 1961 only in response to tremendous pressure from black players, the public, the legal system, and state governments. However, the total number of Black participants in the history of the PGA still hasn't reached double digits. One of the most prestigious tournaments is called "The Masters" and is played at Augusta National Golf Club, which is located on a former plantation. Black men weren't allowed to join the club until 1990, and women weren't allowed to join until 2012. Currently there are only two Black men in the top 100 worldwide golf rankings.

One of the major goals of the Cobbs Creek Foundation is to make Philadelphia a stop on the PGA Tour. The move is part of broader initiative in Philly from Chinatown to FDR to use sports as an economic engine for gentrification. Jeff Shanahan, president of the Cobbs Creek Foundation, and CEO of the credit card processing company Card Connect has made references to the historic diversity of the Cobbs Creek Golf Club. Even if the golf club isn't outright racist like the majority of golf clubs, it will still be a place where the system of white supremacy is bolstered, and the nepotism of the elite thrive. If the demographics change, it is only because people

matter of going down a checklist and making sure everyone has enough money and an attorney. Even if the individuals targeted are feeling fine about their situation and don't need anything materially, ideally there should still be some kind of demonstration of support. This fights against isolation, helps us all grow together, and builds more collective knowledge of how repression can work and the different forms it can take. This in turn helps people be more prepared if they in turn become targets of repression later down the line.

Moreover, personal experiences of repression—arrests, grand jury subpoenas, home visits, questioning, and so on—should be as widely shared as possible. The state already knows what kind of attention they're giving us, so we're putting our side at a disadvantage if we don't make each instance known as widely as possible. If the comrade in question didn't cooperate with law enforcement, there is no reason not to inform others in radical circles about what happened. Refusals to do so will often rightfully lead to supporters dissociating themselves from that person.

At the same time, information about illegal activity should completely be kept to only the individuals directly involved. It might feel rewarding to tell a close friend about something cool you did or hint at your involvement in something among trusted anarchist acquaintances. But giving other people information about something they weren't involved in (especially without their consent) is actually doing them a disservice if we keep in mind the possibility of grand juries and other types of interrogations. It's a lot easier to keep your mouth shut (and get through the questioning) when you actually have no idea what the cops are talking about.

In Philadelphia, there are a number of resources for dealing with repression. Up Against the Law Legal Collective operates an arrest hotline that they open up during specific times (for example, during the recent Moms for Liberty counterprotest weekend). The hotline ensures that people don't get lost in the legal system, and facilitates getting free legal representation for activists with charges. A long-established group, they have a lot of experience and are a wealth of knowledge. Philly Anti-Repression Fund is a smaller group that operates a bail fund and a hotline that is open 24/7 and supports anarchists throughout their cases, usually for actions that

get less public support (for example, an attack during the night, as opposed to getting kettled at a public protest). The two community bail funds (Philadelphia Bail Fund and Community Bail Fund) began helping with more political cases in 2020 and have a lot more financial resources. Philly ABC (the local chapter of the international Anarchist Black Cross) supports political prisoners or prisoners of war, including anarchists. They've also helped out with politicized prisoners and local anarchists' cases.

Anarchists of action should consider how they can get involved with anti-repression efforts. It eases the burden if it's more collectively shared, teaches us so much about how the state and struggles work, and makes us more prepared to possibly experience repression ourselves someday. Let's act now so we don't get caught up later in a cycle of surprise and outrage. This way, we emerge stronger in the long run, and get closer to anarchy. ★

**pov: youre bragging about your crimes to a room of people with good security culture**



**COMMUNITY DEFENSE**

What is community? Is it an identity you've adopted or been assigned? Is it a subculture you're a part of? Is it your neighborhood? Is it a political milieu or all the people governed by a nation-state? Is it a group of people intentionally living their lives in common, or just accidentally overlapping?

Are communities useful? Does this association serve any purpose beyond a convenient shorthand? Have you ever been compelled to act a certain way at the behest of "the community?" Have you been



## MAKING ANTI-REPRESSION A COLLECTIVE PROBLEM

Anti-repression is arguably the least sexy issue on which one could choose to focus. Raising money, calling jails, talking to attorneys, and peacefully attending court hearings doesn't necessarily feel like the anarchist journey I imagined when I first read Alfredo Bonanno. Unfortunately, anti-repression is also a priority, one that could be shared more widely throughout the anarchist space here in Philly and elsewhere. As soon as we start talking about something like creating a culture of attack, we need to also start talking about the potential blowback that will arise from a culture of attack that actually grows some teeth. An approach that interweaves our action plans with an anticipation and mitigation of future repression is a core part of empowering insurgent activity to spread and deepen, both now and in the long term.

Discussing and preparing for some of these consequences in advance gives us a more realistic approach to struggle. It's impossible that we'll all conduct our activities impeccably with no retaliation from the state. Expecting this from ourselves, in my experience, tends to lead to the individuals who do get targeted with repression to experience it as a shameful individual mistake. And it's true, individual mistakes do happen that lead to arrests, for example wearing the wrong clothes during a demo or not finding a good enough spot to change afterwards. There are already a lot of resources out there intended to correct these kinds of mistakes and establish basic parameters for security culture (for example, *"To (Try to) Keep the Cops at Bay"* and other resources on [www.csrc.link](http://www.csrc.link)).

What we don't talk about as much is how to approach the broader cycles of radical activity and repression in a particular city, scene, or campaign. Projects and activities that are even somewhat successful will also inevitably receive police attention in some form. So the question is, how do we think about this in advance?

This kind of projectuality often falls to the wayside because we get too busy in the course of a struggle to prioritize preparing for repression. Repression, in these moments of urgency, can feel hypothetical and

like something that can be dealt with further down the line. And of course it's impossible to control or completely predict what the consequences of our actions will be. The point, though, is to not get stuck in a cycle of surprise and outrage at the state's responses, since that makes the emotional toll that repression takes much worse. We have the ability to analyze the context in which we're acting and figure out the most effective way forward. Thinking about repression in advance emphasizes our side's ability and initiative.

Preparing for repression can be as simple as memorizing a friend's phone number before you go out and do an action one night. It could look like having conversations with your closest companions in struggle about how you'd like to be supported if one or more of you ends up catching a case for something or other. It might look like trying to find lawyers to support a campaign in advance, rather than scrambling to find attorneys after the fact.

If we are making a proposal for a specific struggle, it makes sense to be thinking from the outset about how the opposition will respond to it. These thoughts also don't necessarily have to lead to the conclusion that we should all operate completely underground in that struggle. That instinct is a good one in many ways, but it's not always necessary to cede all ground of visibility to our opponents before we've even gotten started. Sometimes it's the right approach, but it doesn't need to be the default. The context should be analyzed to make intentional decisions about what aspects we want to be visible and which we do not.

Becoming the target of state repression is a deeply personal problem, but it's also a collective one. It's important to make preparing for repression in advance a matter of collective discussion, but once the state has retaliated, our response should also be widespread. This means a lot of people helping out with the situation, so you're not just left alone to deal (which is how the state wants you to be in those circumstances). It's also about celebrating acts of resistance and the long legacies of rebellion we're part of. It's about showing each other that when one of us gets in trouble, the rest of us will show up to make sure they're ok and that what they allegedly did was cool.

Supporting comrades' political cases is not just a

like Jeff Shanahan realize that it's the best way to perpetuate their own power.

In March 2023, it was reported that Tiger Woods is providing a substantial amount of funding for the redevelopment of the Cobbs Creek Golf Course. One of the major projects to be built on the land of the Cobbs Creek Golf Course is the TGR Learning Lab,



which is a 30,000-square-foot facility that will offer year-round programming in robotics, cyber security, artificial intelligence, and more. The massive facility touts itself as being for the "community," but it's laughable to imagine it being welcoming to youth from the majority poor and black Cobbs Creek neighborhood. Despite boiler plate comments about uplifting youth, the Cobbs Creek Foundation says that this programming is for "middle class children" and will likely function as a high end after school/college prep program for the children of the suburban golfers.

IV.

The Cobbs Creek Foundation had a groundbreaking ceremony on July 17th. Presumably Langan Engineering and Environmental Services Inc. (1818 Market Street Suite 3300) has started digging

a reservoir pond and building the pump house. Notably, K&S Engineers (35 S 3rd Street), the same company contracted by the city to demo the Streets Department building in Bartram's North, is the company building three structures for the golf course on Landsdowne Street. The project is underway; the old growth trees killed. And by the time you're reading this, the meadow will likely be mowed and crawling with earth destroying machines.

But, meadows as a habitat have much to teach us about resiliency. Thriving grasslands, especially when they meet wetlands, can support stunning amounts of animal life and plant diversity. There are many studies that say healthy grasslands can sequester as much or more carbon as a forest, while being far more tolerant of disturbances.

The fight to defend grasslands is distinct from traditional forest defense. When ancient trees are cut down, it means that they will not return for centuries. However, if you are defending a meadowland, the resiliency of that ecology means that no matter how many times it is destroyed, it always contains the promise of regrowth.

Two million acres of America are golf courses. That is larger in size than the state of Delaware. In only two years, the Cobbs Creek Golf Course turned into a stunning grassland fostering countless plants and animals. Even if the golf course is completed, if it again becomes abandoned (as it did in 2020, after a fire in the club house), the meadowlands will bloom again.

This means, unlike more traditional land defense which often takes a stationary and defensive stance around something threatened, the defense of grasslands can look much more like a dispersed constant attack on anything which suppresses the wild area. Many of the threatened spaces in Philly that anarchists hold dear are meadowlands, and, in fact, much of the neighborhoods we live in were meadows before they were colonized.

Any empty lot left unbothered by the mower will bloom into a tiny meadowland, as we have seen before in FDR and Cobbs Creek. If people don't want to golf, then the golf course becomes a meadow. If people cannot golf, then the golf course becomes a meadow. Golf courses need constant upkeep of massive perfect greens, complex systems of

irrigation, fleets of golf carts, mowers, and other maintenance equipment in order to be used.

As this absurd and destructive project gets underway, Philadelphia environmental groups, community groups, and conservationists, have been all but silent. However, in September 2022, machines at the site of the future course were sabotaged. An anonymous communique claiming the effective and brave action stated, "There doesn't need to be a bigger campaign going on for us to take matters into our own hands and try to stop some of the destruction that surrounds us."★

### CALL TO STRUGGLE AROUND BARTRAM'S & AGAINST THE PROPOSAL FOR CELLICON VALLEY

Development is officially moving forward - though very slowly - in destroying the alluring wastelands of Bartram's North, the wooded riverside area just north of Bartram's Gardens in Southwest Philly. For years, this area has been a favorite hangout spot for anarchists, ravers, feminist nude sunbathers, and other companions in being up to no good. Within the past eight months, a fence has gone up - twice - around the fields adjacent to the bike path that runs through the area, and a nearby building is slated to be demolished at the end of July. Earlier that month, three surveillance cameras were installed high up along Botanic Ave, the street that leads up to Bartram's North. An unpermitted rave at Bartram's in mid-July was reportedly broken up by police, which was to our knowledge the first time cops had kicked a party out of that location.

Resistance to the project has also been moving along, but slowly. According to websites like Philly Anti-Cap, over this calendar year so far the following events and actions have taken place:

- January: A zine is released entitled "Fuck a 'Cellicon Valley': Against the Proposed Development of Bartram's North and South."
- February: "Fuck Cellicon Valley" graffiti goes up along with "No Cop City" slogans.
- February: A Valentine's Day-themed communique entitled "ISO Fence4Fence" notes that the fence around Bartram's North has been broken down and is accompanied by anti-Cellicon Valley graffiti

nearby.

- February: Iffy Books hosts a zine launch and social to publicize "Fuck a 'Cellicon Valley.'"
- March: A communique claims the sabotage of a machine at Bartram's North that was in the process of destroying "one of our favorite post-industrial wildernesses." Bleach was poured into the tanks and tools were stolen.
- March: An anarchist assembly meets to discuss the various ecological and place-based struggles across the city, connecting the proposed struggle at Bartram's with other campaigns like Save the Meadows, Save the UC Townhomes, No Arena in Chinatown, and the fight against the Cobbs Creek golf course.
- March/April: Anti-development and other anarchist graffiti goes up in Bartram's North, including "Land Back" and Developers GTFO (A)."
- April: A communique posts photos of graffiti at Bartram's North (with slogans including "fuck in the forest (A)" and "developers GTFO") "for those Sexy Elves and Fairies out there in the Sex Forest. Let's make the space more fun and cute while we defend the land. :-)"
- May: A "work party" takes down most of the fence around the Bartram's North fields for a second time and puts up more graffiti.
- June: "Feral gnomes" write a claim taking responsibility for pouring grit into the lubricating system of an earth-destroying machine at Bartram's.

The proposal for "Cellicon Valley," part of the Lower Schuylkill Master Plan, threatens to build a biotech campus at the sites of Bartram's North and Bartram's South. As well as demolishing the green spaces in those areas, the proposal also likely involves razing Bartram's Village (the project housing nearby), and displacing its residents to build a new road to the Bartram's South site.

This proposal is part of an ongoing effort by Philadelphia's city planners to attract tech investment and brand the city as a new tech hot spot in competition with innovation hubs like Boston, the Bay and Silicon Valley itself. The city has been trying to do this kind of thing for a while, with mixed results, for example with Philadelphia's failed attempt around 2018 to win the bid to house Amazon's second national headquarters.

It is critical that we help them continue to fail in this goal. The effects of gentrification have already been

devastating, and taking it to this level would make the city unlivable for everyone except a newly arrived generation of yuppie tech gentry.

The city is still looking for a partner to actually carry out the development process at Bartram's. The PIDC (Philadelphia Industrial Development Corporation) is reportedly in conversation with three development firms: Quaker Lane Capital, Gattuso Development Partners/AR Spruce, and Lincoln Property Company. The latest information we have, from February 2023, says they expected to select a partner and negotiate a development agreement by the second quarter of 2023.

It is much easier to intimidate potential developers, discouraging them from committing to the project in the first place, than it is to dissuade companies that have already signed a contract. Waiting until a developer is actually chosen might galvanize resistance by helping publicize the project and showing people it's a real threat, but do we really want to wait til the deal is done, mainstream media has decided to start talking about (i.e. advertising) it, and everyone else on the opposition has been put on point to promote the project and squash resistance?

At this time, it's not certain that any of the above development firms will even decide to commit to the project. If we act now, we can make this potential failure a reality. If we wait til later, we can still make construction a problem for the developers, but we'll be at more of a disadvantage.

We don't need to rely on our opposition's timeline or their media; we can create our own. At this moment, we have the chance to widely publicize the project \*ourselves\*, spreading the information we want to see spread and finding potential accomplices, while the city waits around for their side of things to get finalized. It might not feel like it, but the time in which it'll be most effective to act is now.

Who's Responsible:

- PIDC (Philadelphia Industrial Development Corporation), a non-profit founded by the city of Philadelphia and the Chamber of Commerce that funds development, is the main vehicle of this project
  - Anne Bovaird Nevins, President of PIDC
  - Angie Fredrickson, Vice President of Real Estate Services of PIDC (oversees the group's marketing efforts in the Lower Schuylkill)

- Tom Dalfo, Senior Vice President of Real Estate Services for PIDC (oversaw the implementation of the Lower Schuylkill Master Plan)
- Colliers Life Sciences, "elite" real estate advisors leading the effort to solicit developers for the biotech campus
  - Joseph Fetterman, Executive Vice President
  - Clifford Brechner, Vice President
  - Matthew Barkann, Associate
- William Penn Foundation, funders of the Lower Schuylkill Master Plan, along with the City of Philadelphia
- PennPraxis, local advisors and facilitators for the Lower Schuylkill Master Plan
- PHA (Philadelphia Housing Authority)
- Urban Land Institute (ULI) Philadelphia - assembled the panel of experts in 2021 (sponsored by PIDC) that recommended and specified suggestions for the development of Bartram's
- All development firms that have shown interest in the project

Some ideas:

- Counter-information about the project (on site and in general)
- Actions against people responsible for development
- Work parties
- Dare to dream >:)★

